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ABSTRACT

Proceedings from a seminar on economic development for American Indian reservations include reports on panel discussions and an analysis of a questionnaire responded to by 113 Indian seminar participants. The report on Session One, "Traditional Indian Economies in New Mexico: Values," covers a discussion on traditional roles and patterns which have affected Indian economic development: proceedings from Session Two, "Indian Economic Development and the Role of Experts," discuss an apparent lack of communication and coordination between Indian governments and outside experts in dealing with economic decisions within communities: the summary of Session Three, "New Mexico State Legislation and Its Effects," deals with Indian rights and sovereignty which are affected by political and governmental influence: and the recording of Session Four, "Federal Trust Obligations and Conflicts of Interest," narrates concerns on issues of development on reservations in which the federal government is involved. A report on the concluding session covers discussions of various topics of interest and concern which were not covered during the four seminar panels. Five major concerns emerged from an analysis of the questionnaire responses: local input into planning: general knowledge: effectiveness of experts and planning: control of development and planning: and development. (JD)

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FINAL REPORT FROM THE SEMINAR
Economic Development
In Indian Reservations in New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM: May 4-5, 1979
Organized by:
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Report by the Seminar Planning Committee

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More detailed analysis of the subject of economic development is available: *Economic Development in American Indian Reservations,* Published by: Native American Studies, University of New Mexico: $8.95.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Joe Baca, Chairman of the Seminar Planning Committee on "Economic Development in Indian Reservations in New Mexico," opened the seminar by welcoming the nearly 200 participants. He noted that the registration records showed the broad-based representation from the Indian governments and divisions in New Mexico, and the number of top experts in the field of economic development from various parts of the United States.

Mr. Frank Ortiz, Second Lieutenant Governor, and former Governor of the Pueblo of Acoma, presented the Invocation. In his Keres language, Mr. Ortiz spoke of the Indian peoples' land, lives, societies, and the future of the people. He asked that the seminar be a great learning experience, where expert and Indian come together as brothers and sisters, with care for all humanity and its future.

Representing the All Indian Pueblo Council Executive, Mr. Frank Tenorio, Secretary-Treasurer of AIPC, praised the seminar as an important event at this stage, saying:

> Given the fact that more and more "experts" and scholars are becoming involved in research, writing, and contracting as consultants for American Indian governments in the area of economic development, there is a growing need for these professionals to be educated as to the desires and goals of the Indian people, less the professionals become more dangerous than useful. The Seminar offers the opportunity for Indian representatives to provide an educational experience for "experts" who advise and influence development policies and goals of Indian peoples. The seminar will allow Indian leaders and planners an opportunity to acquire knowledge of the overall attitudes and approaches of "experts" in economic development in Indian communities. Principles may emerge which will provide guidelines to researchers and consultants as to the propriety and usefullness or danger of particular projects. It will allow Indian leaders and planners an opportunity to assess the "experts" in order to know who might be useful to consult for future projects.

Mr. Tenorio closed by pointing out the importance of the Seminar in the cooperative efforts of the University of New Mexico to be more responsive to Indian communities in New Mexico. The Seminar is seen as the first of a continuing series of such events to be facilitated by Native American Studies, University of New Mexico and the All Indian Pueblo Council, with future seminars dealing with taxation, Indian labor, uranium mining, lease negotiations, water rights, jurisdiction and sovereignty.

Mr. Baca explained the format of the seminar sessions, each with a panel of "experts" (non-Indian) and a panel of Indians, who are, indeed, experts. After the panel presentations, an open forum would allow for direct interchange between the panelists and the seminar participants. Mr. Baca described the question of economic development as a complex issue interrelated to many aspects of Indian life and welfare. He pointed out that the federal government policy is now directed toward injection of finance capital into reservations for development, a hopeful direction. He referred to the Oversight Hearings on Indian Natural Resources, scheduled to begin in Congress on May 22, as another hopeful development. Most important, Mr. Baca stressed, is the formation of an American Indian financial institution arising from the policy recommmendations of the American Indian Policy Review Commission and the General Accounting Office (GAO), indicating such a need. The All Indian Development Association, which Mr. Baca directs, is initiating the design for that institution, looking at models of developing countries. Mr. Baca quoted from the new publication, *Economic Development in American Indian Reservations*, just published by Native American Studies Center, University of New Mexico, pointing out that seven of the eleven authors in the book were panelists in the seminar sessions:

Perhaps the essays that comprise this book raise more questions than answers. A major point made throughout is that more questions should be asked, that American Indian people are right to be concerned and skeptical about 'economic development' as it is being presented to them through government and corporation programs. Easy assumptions and answers are many and dangerously misleading. Though there appear to be many choices available to Indian governments for economic development, actually, few choices exist if the goal of development is self-determination and future well-being.

SESSION #1: *TRADITIONAL INDIAN ECONOMIES IN NEW MEXICO: VALUES*

Experts Panel: *Professor Louise Lamphere*, Anthropology, University of New Mexico; *Professor Joseph Jorgensen*, Director, Comparative Cultures Program, University of California, Irvine.

Indian Panel: *Mr. Joe Sando*, author, historian from Jemez Pueblo; *Ms. Gloria Emerson*, Director, Native American Materials Development Center, Albuquerque (Navajo).

Discussion Moderator: *Mr. Simon Ortiz*, Poet, writer; Pueblo of Acoma.

Professor Lamphere began the session by talking about the traditional Navajo economy and its connection with family structure. As Native American economies have become increasingly less self-sufficient and more integrated into the general United States' economy, economists have tended to see local values, including the role of the family, as obstacles in the way of economic development. However, traditional patterns of generosity within the family group, have been of survival value in adapting to new circumstances. During the early reservation period, 1870-1890, Navajos were dependent on a pastoral economy, but were beginning to trade their wool and mutton for other goods, not having enough sheep to support them without trade. At this time, Navajo extended families, dispersed over an area in small communities, were the units of production, distribution, and consumption. In the 1930's, federal government stock reduction policy put an end to herding as the main means of support, and Navajos had to rely on wage labor. During the 1950's, the Navajo family was severely affected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs policy of relocation, under which many young people moved to Los Angeles and other urban areas to find work, though many Navajos remained in traditional areas and kept stock as a hedge against bad times. Though there has been change in the function of the Navajo family, the underlying value of generosity has remined, and must be taken into account in plans for economic development in the reservation.

Professor Jorgensen's experience with traditional Native American economies began in Utah, where he grew up around Paiute and Ute Indians. In the late 1950's, he worked for the Northern Ute government in a number of positions, and began to question how people who had won such lucrative land settlements from the federal government should be so poor in material goods, and why their families were so different from those of Mormons with whom he grew up. The nature of land ownership in the reservation was special. It was clear who owned allotments, but the remainder was "federal" land, "owned" by the old people, but not as a commodity that could be bought and sold. Experts available to Indians at the time were doing business for corporations, the state, and the federal government. It was clear that the BIA was not serving Indian communities very well. Professor Jorgensen expressed his interest in the way in which sharing and reciprocity have remained constant even when family size and structure have changed, so that the American idea of individual economic actors striving to save scarce resources does not apply.

Mr. Sando outlined the characteristics of pre-European Pueblo economies. Pueblo peoples were farmers with crops such as cotton, squash, corn and beans.

Corn was the staff of life, celebrated in many ceremonies. The Pueblos traded among themselves for pottery and turkey and eagle feathers, and traded with more distant peoples to the south for parrot feathers. With the development of weaving, they traded for ceremonial items and for tanned hides with the Plains peoples whom they met while on expeditions for buffalo and antelope. Throughout, the Pueblo people depended on sharing and cooperation, and because they were good farmers, were never in want. Traditional Pueblo economic values conflict with American values.

Gloria Emerson spoke of two interrelated problems of Navajo economy and culture: dependency of the reservation population on welfare and other federal programs; and dependency of professional Navajo individuals, such as herself, on federal funds for Navajo programs. An adaption of modern technology is necessary to promote self-sufficiency, but the problem is how to accomplish this. The educational system is at the root of the problem, through its denial of Navajo knowledge and values in the curriculum. Her own work involves developing wholistic curriculum which builds on Navajo culture, values, and family structure to prepare children to deal with outside knowledge and values. Two underlying methods are important: Developing a coherent philosophy of education based on traditional values, and utilizing people living more traditional lives as sources of input and evaluation.

Simon Ortiz, the Discussion Moderator, pointed out that traditional Native American economies include what the land produces and what work the people do to help make the land productive. Modern economy implies a different use of the land in most cases. On the face of it, development would seem to answer the need for money incomes, but when the value of the land for its people is considered on all levels, it is easy to see why elders have such a difficult task in decision making. In the end, when elders have to make decisions that will keep the people together, it comes down to a question of morality, to a question of right and wrong.

DISCUSSION

Concern was voiced that sacred knowledge not be exploited or made available indiscriminately in adapting to new conditions. Panelists noted that much of this information had been divulged to anthropologists long ago, and that material now should be taken to knowledgeable people for evaluation. As for the question of economic development, the consensus of the panelists and seminar participants was that development would occur. Points of concern were questions of how fast, in what manner, and for whom. The need for large-scale Indian government enterprises, such as the Navajo Forest Products Industries, was expressed, but also the need for small-scale community-based development was voiced. In both cases, problems of financing due to lack of collateral, and cultural factors, such as the emphasis on sharing and reciprocity, were cited as considerations which are not present in the outside economy. Differences were noted between conditions in the resource-rich, populous Navajo reservation and relatively poor, small Pueblos. In all cases, speakers stressed the need for Indian governments to be more open and helpful in dealing with issues at the grass-roots level.

SESSION #2: *INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF "EXPERTS"*

Experts Panel: *Dr. Lorraine Ruffing,* Economic Consultant and Professor at Webster College, Geneva, Switzerland; *Professor Lynn Robbins,* Huxley School of Environmental Studies, W. Washington Univ.

Indian Panel: *Mr. Al Henderson,* Navajo Office of Economic Development; *Mr. Mike Allison,* (Navajo) Consultant; *Governor Walter Dasheno,* Santa Clara Pueblo

Discussion Moderator: *Mr. Joe Baca,* Dir., All Indian Development Association

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Dr. Ruffing began the session by presenting her ideas about what the role

of "experts" should be. In general, Indian people have to decide whether they want only increased revenues, improvement in indicators such as educational level, or if they want self-sufficiency. As for selecting consultants, the following points are crucial: (1) Make sure the consultant is really necessary; do not undervalue Indian human resources and do not duplicate efforts; (2) Make sure there is a very specific job for the consultant to do; (3) Use the expert only in their area of expertise, and if a long term project is involved, consider hiring the person as ordinary staff; (4) Check out the "expert's" background for what the person has done and how; (5) Find out what the person's biases and prejedices are; (6) Maintain contact with the "expert" throughout the project, and always assign an Indian to work with the person; have the person work on the reservation if at all possible and have frequent meetings with the "expert" to review and revise the project; (7) Read the "expert's" report carefully. For the "expert" several conditions are necessary. The person should understand the goal of the study, and, ideally, the Indian government concerned would present the expert with an outline of the study to be done. The person should become aware of the political situation in order to understand the context of the study better, but should not become involved in implementation of the project. The person should not become the "boss," but rather take direction from the Indian government. Agreement should be clear between the consultant and the Indian government as to who should have access to the study.

For Professor Robbins, the role of the outside consultant should be to provide Indian people with necessary information for them to make policy decisions about their future. The crisis of values brought on by the world-wide, mainly capitalist industrial revolution must be resolved by the peoples affected. There is a parallel between developing Third World countries and the Navajo reservation, which produces enormous amounts of electrical power, but receives little in return. Like developing countries, also, Indian reservations are beginning to produce their own college-trained experts, who have insights into and ties with the communities that outside "experts" lack.

Mr. Allison summarized advice he would give Indian groups about economic development based on his experience as a consultant to Indian governments in different parts of the United States and Canada over the past five years. Economic development involves a number of issues such as education, health, business. The first step is to begin with Indian people where they are now, with low incomes, low educational levels, lack of running water and sewers, very high unemployment, and improve the situation from there. Businesses may be financed either through Indian or federal governments, or through the private sector. There are major problems with private enterprises, such as the lack of collateral and the lack of expertise in many reservations. The question of large-scale versus small-scale businesses is a matter of a continuous educational process. Failures are usually due to lack of education or management expertise. People should be honest with themselves and undertake only what they are qualified to carry out at any given time, while continuously promoting increased education with larger enterprises in mind.

Governor Dasheno pointed out that people consider experts to have all the answers, but a central problem with experts is the lack of confidence and trust between them and Indian governments. The idea of experts as all-knowing is really an illusion, because Indian people themselves know what needs exist, what should be developed. The lack of confidence is aggravated by complexities of Indian government politics, which often result in decisions being made by Chairmen or Governors, rather than by Councils. From the expert's initiative, more effort should be made to define terms and explain studies to Councils, in order to give people more of a basis for decision making. From Indian governments, more trust is necessary toward younger

Indian people who are encouraged to go outside to obtain an education and return to the reservation with specific expertise, but who often find that in terms of salaries, their services are valued much less than those of outside experts.

Al Henderson discussed the necessity for overall, comprehensive planning for development. He recounted the history of the Navajo Economic Development Model (NED), which was produced by experts working outside the reservation, and who did not even visit the reservation nor talk to people directly concerned with development. The model remained unused and unusable by the Navajo government for four years because of computer incompatibility ("Dead Ned" it was jokingly called), but has finally been adapted to the computers used by the Navajos. This is an example of what happens when experts and reservation governments do not communicate well on the goals of a study, and it also points out the need for creative people to take the experts' documents and translate them, both in terms of rephrasing concepts and even by translating them from English into the local language. Development studies tend to be piecemeal, and a comprehensive view is needed in order to deal with areas that have been overlooked. Such areas include: A comprehensive study of the impact of developing energy resources in Indian communites (who have been declared ineligible for federal impact funds); the problems of human displacement, such as will occur with the settlement of the Navajo-Hopi joint use area; the effects of strip-mining; and others.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Baca, in opening the discussion period, noted that there had been little mention of government experts who set up federal economic development projects which could be characterized by a lack of coordination and intense jealousy.Mr. Robbins concurred, and added that more and more lawyers were becoming important experts as court cases decide options open to Indian peoples. He stressed the importance of training more Indian lawyers. The discussion centered on the long-standing tendency for Indian governments to rely on outside, white experts as a heritage of Indian dependency and on the difficult process of replacing them with trained Indians. Participants spoke from both sides of the issue. Some elder Indian leaders stressed the need for younger people to take the knowledge of their elders into account, to come to them for input and advice about traditional ways, while several younger people voiced their concern that their opinions were not respected once they had left the reservation for outside, nontraditional education. As part of the exchange, panelists were asked how one becomes an "expert," and although most of the responses had to do with education and experience, it was clear that for younger Indian people actually involved in acquiring just those qualifications, the issue of acceptance by their own community leaders was of primary importance. The consensus of the panelists and participants was that a process of mutual cooperation and communication would have to occur over time in order to counter reliance on outside experts and to promote acceptance of new ways of dealing with decisions within communities.

SESSION #3: *NEW MEXICO STATE LEGISLATION AND ITS EFFECTS*

Experts Panel: *Professor Gerald Boyle*, Chairman, Economics, UNM
Mr Steve Nickeson, National Indian Youth Council

Indian Panel: *Honorable Reginald Begay*, New Mexico State Legislature (Navajo); *Mr. Herb Blatchford*, New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs (Navajo).

Discussion Moderator: *Mr. Joe Little*, Esq., Counsel, AIPC (Mescalero Apache)

Mr. Little introduced the session by pointing out that most Indians have started with the premise that the state does not have jurisdiction over Indian land, but law and politics are not the same thing. For example, four years

ago, a lease-hold tax law was passed which applies to businesses that lease land in reservations, so that tax benefits which reservations could offer have been reduced. Two years ago, the Legislature passed a law giving the state authority to tax developments on Indian land if federal law does not prohibit such taxation.

Mr. Begay discussed conditions surrounding his appointment in place of Leo Watchman, also Navajo, who resigned from his seat after a change in the power structure of the Legislature. He drew attention to the fact that bills are introduced in each session of the Legislature which attempt to reduce or "chip away at" Indian rights and sovereignty. In his ennumeration of bills he had fought or sponsored, Mr. Begay mentioned that his position on the Judiciary Committee enabled him to have an effect on bills dealing with Indian sovereignty. Thus he could reduce the impact of a bill dealing with State-Indian and Federal-State relations, although he predicted that Indian rights could still be attacked indirectly through the federal level. Mr. Begay stressed the need for aid from specialists, especially in the area of legislative analysis, since the one person now available to do this work cannot be expected to do a thorough job on the more than one thousand bills submitted in each session of the Legislature.

Mr. Blatchford, a legislative analyst, continued the observations that legislative analysis is necessary and very complex. Checking the content of each bill in not enough, since many decisions are made informally in lounges and committee rooms. There is a great deal of sentiment in the Legislature for abrogating Indian treaties, taxing Indian lands, and restricting Indian water rights. To counter these tendencies, it is necessary that Indian governments have their own lobbyists and legislation monitors, to avoid the situation of other states where adverse legislation is passed without the knowledge of the people most affected. Indian people have been reluctant up to now to concern themselves with legislative affairs, but the longer this continues, the more destructive the legislation that can be passed by conservative political interests.

Mr. Little noted that one of the main problems with the Legislature is their attitudes. Utility company lobbyists are openly very active in their efforts, and the influx of large numbers of non-Indians to the state has required more of a concern for increase in state revenues to provide services for the expanding population. This combination has meant that social welfare concerns and political factionalism have been less important as determining factors in passing legislation. Another aspect of the relationship between Indians and the state is jealousy felt by state officials and legislators toward federal involvement in Indian affairs. They would much rather have the Indian governments deal directly with them.

Mr. Nickeson discussed New Mexico's water law and its long-term effects on Indian communities. He suggested that seminar participants imagine that they were state water planners, and that they would naturally begin acting as if there were no Indian land in the state, since, by federal law, they could have no jurisdiction over water on such land. However, water is a scarce commodity in the state and a necessary element in economic development and more water is shifted from irrigation to industrial use. Thus the planners would run headlong into the problem posed by the Winters Doctrine, a federal ruling which states that Indians have first right to water for the irrigation of their lands. Since it would remove needed water from state jurisdiction and could drastically raise the cost of remaining water, the state would consistently fight the awarding of full Winters rights to any reservation. This has been the situation for the last 70 years. In workshops on water rights, Indian leaders always ask how to get their water back. Mr. Nickeson's answer is simply to start using it: Plow fields, drill wells, dig ditches. Of course, this will precipitate court battles, but since the Winters Doctrine is so strongly on the side

of Indian water rights, court battles would eventually pay off, and are probably the only way to attack the problem.

Professor Boyle spoke next on the topic of taxation and New Mexico Indians. The lack of Indian taxation is one of the biggest obstacles to the development of sovereignty and the move toward self-determination. The question is what taxes should Indian governments levy? The federal government uses the income tax for most of its revenue. State governments use sales taxes, and local governments use property taxes for the most part. Indian governments cannot use property taxes, and sales taxes are not very promising because of the leakage of consumption from reservations, around 80 percent of spending by Navajos, for instance, being outside the reservation. An income tax would be better, in the form of a payroll tax, so that everyone who earned an income in a reservation would be taxed on the salary earned there. This approach, however, would probably be politically unrealistic for any Indian politician, since it would mean taxing Indians as well as non-Indians. Another option which has more potential is for reservations with mineral resources to tax the development of these resources. Up to now, the state of New Mexico has been the sole taxer of this activity, but if an Indian government passes a law and the companies involved litigate, courts would have to allocate rights between the state and Indian governments. There is room in the present tax rates for this kind of action, since state rates are quite low. The rate on steam coal, for example, is 6 to 7 percent, whereas Montana taxes steam coal at a 30 percent rate. Leasing is an approach used by many Indian governments with reservation mineral resources, but there is a great difference between taxation and leasing. A lease ties the Indian government to certain conditions over the life of the lease, often 15 to 20 years, while taxation carries no such limitations. As conditions change and needs for revenues increase, it is the right of a sovereign power to raise taxes. Indian governments should simply levy their own taxes and take the trouble to fight the resulting court cases, since they will come out ahead in the long run.

DISCUSSION

Mr. Little opened the discussion period by mentioning that the Colville Indians of Washington state have just such a case, involving their right to tax cigarette sellers in the reservation and ending the right of the state to collect such a tax, which is due to be heard by the Supreme Court in July. A finding for the Indians in this case would open up the option for other Indian governments. The discussion focused on the issues of taxation and water rights and Indian sovereignty in general. It was pointed out that there have been precedents for smaller Indian governments to make agreements with state and local governments whereby the latter handle the actual tax collection and auditing of businesses, charge the Indian governments an administrative fee, and pass the rest of the revenues on to the Indian governments. Although this would be ideal for many governments that lack the resources to collect taxes themselves, no one could cite an instance where this system was actually in practice. On the topic of water rights, there was some sentiment to carry out the approach suggested by Mr. Nickeson and to have more seminars on the topic. A question was posed about the progress of the water-rights case involving five Pueblos which has gone on for about ten years without a decision. Mr. Nickeson commented that it was basically a political issue, that the federal government was not pressing for a resolution because of their concern that the Pueblos would win the case, which would result in a loss of water for several states. Finally, there was a comment that Indians must have more voice in government at all levels in order to determine their lives. The issue of racism came up with a question as to why all the speakers seemed to avoid the term.

Several panelists answered that when dealing with the Legislature and state officials, it is necessary to avoid closing off lines of communication or provoking direct confrontations, but that racism, among other negative factors, was involved in all the problems discussed.

SESSION #4: *FEDERAL TRUST OBLIGATIONS AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST*
Experts Panel: *Professor Lee Zink*, Institute for Applied Research, University of New Mexico; *Mr. J.B. Mulcock*, Vice-President, Public Service Co. of New Mexico; *Mr. Eric Natwig*, Consultant, Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT).
Indian Panel: *Mr. Paul Tafoya*, Santa Clara Pueblo;
Mr. Richard Tecube, Planner, Jicarilla Apache Tribe
Discussion Moderator: *Mr. Phillip S. (Sam) Deloria, jr., J.D.*, Director, American Indian Law Center, University of New Mexico.

Mr. Deloria opened the session with the observation that the concept of "conflict of interest" is important for Indian people, since there is a tendency to label any adverse decision on the part of bureaucrats in this way. Such a feeling may be accurate to some extent, but it broadens the term too much, covering up cases of real conflict of interest. Both the terms, "conflict of interest" and "federal trusteeship" need to be defined. In the lawyer's narrow, professional sense, conflict of interest standards are designed to protect both client and practitioner and deal with difficult situations that practitioners may find themselves in, not with moral judgements. The less moral judgements are involved, the more helpful the thinking. Where Indians are concerned, on the federal level, conflict of interest often involves lawyers. For example, if the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior do not agree on a case, the lawyers may just go into a room and decide among themselves which department will represent the federal view, and responsibility to Indians becomes secondary. In general, determining conflict of interest involves considering the responsibilities of the person or institution, analyzing whether they can be expected to fulfill their duties in a reasonable manner so as to give full representation to each client. At present, the field is poorly structured and accusations are flung about loosely, without much analysis.

Mr. Mulcock addressed his remarks to the subject of economic development, rather than to ethical concerns of conflicts of interest. There are two basic scenarios: Development of energy/mineral resources and product and job development. The long-term future of Indian economies depends on product and job development, rather than on nonrenewable energy/mineral resources. But the way governments handle the latter, short-term development will determine the willingness of industry to make investments and bring jobs to reservations. It is important that they be satisfied that investments would be "secure." Mr. Mulcock recognized the right of Indian governments to make decisions about the details of development, although, he pointed out, a businessman might not be happy with them. The Public Service Company will work with Indian communities as it does with any other, to help them locate potential clients and industrial activities, and to make evaluations of what the locale might have to offer for potential investors in terms of a standard checklist, including employment opportunities and available workers. (Mr. Deloria commented that it would be interesting to find out exactly how Public Service Company would define "stability" or "safety" of Indian governments to suit potential investors, given the general instability of the larger economy.)

Mr. Natwig summarized the main issues of development in reservations, based on his experiences as an economic planning consultant for the Navajo Nation for five years: (1) For a reservation trying to pursue economic

development, attracting private financing is very difficult, and Indian governments are not able to finance themselves: existing sources of tax revenue are generally preempted by the state, and Indian bonds do not have a clear tax-exempt status, plus the fact that trust status of Indian lands makes mortgage financing very complex. (2) Indian governments want greater participation in development, in terms of project design and timing. (3) Procedural issues are complex, for example, land acquisition and federal approval procedures and federal programs. (4) Jurisdictional problems are major, for example, problems over the desire of Indian governments to strengthen rights to land, water, minerals; complications with the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; and problems with the state involving development projects using Indian funds. (5) There are distributional problems, and most income from development projects goes to non-Indians. (6) Goals may differ from Indian community to community, but in general, Indian people want to stay in their communities and make them viable places in which to live. In closing, Mr. Natwig noted that the Secretary of the Interior is in an essentially conflicting role, where he must try to reconcile national and Indian interests.

Dr. Zink began by commenting that while listening to Simon Ortiz' invocation, he had realized that there was a need for more moral involvement in economic affairs to offset the excessive interest in money for its own sake. Economic changes are occurring much more rapidly in New Mexico at present, and Indian people apparently want a certain amount of economic development. But such development will most probably be in the form of industrialization, which in turn will require outside capital and perhaps even outside management. It is uncertain whether this can occur without dramatically changing valued ways of life, but it can only come about through private forces. Government involvement at any level has never produced major, lasting economic development. Therefore, the main problem becomes how to live with private forces, so as not to be destroyed by them.

Mr. Deloria remarked that it is necessary for Indian people to define the term, "conflict of interests," for themselves, and then try to apply it to particular situations in order to give it content. One important reason for doing this is to make clear to federal officials that there is a fundamental difference between the special duty they owe to Indian beneficiaries of federal trust obligations, and their generalized responsibility to members of the public. An example of this is their generalized responsibility to keep the price of gas and oil low, while they have a specific responsibility not to put the economic burden on Indian owners of resources.

Mr. Tecube began talking about trust obligations and conflict of interest by noting that Indian governments possess at least the vestiges of sovereignty. In relations with the federal government, conflict of interest problems arise when Indian governments start to explore what they can develop in their own reservations, what they may do on their own land. The source of these conflicts of interest lies in the focus of trust obligations both on land and resources and on Indian governments; and in the latter case, the diversity of Indian peoples and cultures makes the situation even more complicated. There are several main problem areas affecting Indian peoples: (1) Legislation and regulations: often Indians have no input into laws and ruling affecting their lives, and serious jurisdictional problems can result. (2) Litigation: courts in different parts of the country render different decisions in similar cases. (3) Politics: since Indian groups represent only one of many political interests, competing with many others, their voice is often not heard. (4) Federal government: the BIA is only one agency within one department responsible for all Indian affairs, and it is very difficult to ensure that Indian rights are protected on all levels, in all departments. In closing, Mr.

Tecube made general suggestions. First, Indian governments should recognize that they are governments with inherent powers and they should decide what to do and do it. Secondly, in spite of the diversity of Indian peoples, there are common problems affecting all, so other Indian communities' experiences can be applied to a particular group's situation.

Mr. Deloria remarked that one of the peculiar aspects of Indian governments is that they are both major landowners and governments within their areas of jurisdiction. Historically, they have acted more as landowners than as governments, for example, by leasing land for mineral development rather than taxing. This is an instance of a conflict of roles which does not necessarily imply a conflict of interest.

Mr. Tafoya opened his presentation by discussing his experiences as Governor of Santa Clara Pueblo. When he first took office, he saw rapid economic development as a desirable goal, but the elders quickly made him realize that there were many other concerns involved in Indian government. Over time, he decided that energy developers, especially, did not have the interests of his people in mind. For several years he had gone to the BIA for assistance and support in making decisions about natural resources, since he understood that this agency had a trust obligation in this area. BIA aid resulted in leases to outside corporations to develop natural resources, but recently the Santa Clara Pueblo government has decided not to lease land to non-Indian contractors any longer. They want to reserve development for the control of their own experts, for the benefit of future generations. In the issue of Indian water rights, Mr. Tafoya mentioned the possibility of the BIA bargaining with the state, in a definite conflict of interest, which Indian groups can avoid if they join together now to ensure that trust obligations are carried out. In closing, he mentioned the importance of Indian governments gathering all claims to present to the federal government by April 1, 1980, when a statute of limitations passed by Congress on Indian claims will go into effect.

DISCUSSION

The discussion centered on two issues: Public Service Company activities and private versus governmental stimulation of development. Mr. Mulcock was questioned about various types of power projects, and responded that his company was in the process of building a pump-storage reservoir project, and that there were no plans for developing any solar or wind projects in the forseeable future. No projects are planned for construction in any reservations, though a number would be built near reservations, affecting them mainly through the routing of transmission lines. Mr. Deloria made the observation that for economic reasons the University of New Mexico would be interested in cooperating with Public Service Company (with possible conflicts of interest). He suggested that the company act as a catalyst to help bring private funds to programs such as the one for training Indian engineers, so that there would be people in the various reservations who could communicate with utility officials. One comment brought out a number of alternatives which had not been presented, such as the possibility of creating more economic well-being without industrialization or mining. Also, the possibility of development without turning resources over to outsiders was mentioned. It was suggested that private enterprise may not be appropriate for reservation economic development. Other comments were made to the effect that Indian rights need to be protected by an institution such as the BIA, and that Indians have more chance of input into development when federal, state, and Indian governments are involved than over private industry.

SUMMARY

Mr. Baca moderated a discussion period during which participants voiced concerns about topics not covered sufficiently by the seminar sessions, their own views of economic development, and points which they felt should be emphasized in conclusion. One comment questioned the necessity of private entrepreneurship as a model of economic development for Indian people, pointing out the following: (1) Are all Indians to become successful private entrepreneurs? Is there any economy in the world which consists only of this type of enterprise? (2) Is an Indian entrepreneur different from one of another ethnic background? What is the relationship between a private firm and a nation, a people in terms of values and ways of life? (3) Will the private sector of the wider economy see Indian sovereignty as stable and profitable for its own interests, or as a threat? Another member of the audience, a Zuni businessman, pointed out that the emphasis on small businesses was to counter excess attention given to natural resource development, and that it is necessary to begin to create local economic bases in reservations. The values of the Zuni people have not changed because of increased Indian business activity, and many people in the Rio Grande Valley travel into towns for work and goods, while maintaining religious and social life in the Pueblos. As for providing working capital, the federal government, in its trust capacity, should be a major source.

Mr. Lee Cook, an Indian participant from Minnesota, and a consultant, presented the opinion that governments exist to provide necessary services and basic economic security for their people. In the case of Indians, almost all these responsibilities are assumed by the federal government. The problem is lack of exposure on the part of Indian people, due primarily to the reluctance of BIA specialists to give up some of their functions to Indian people themselves. Indian people need to have the opportunity to initiate their own kinds of activities and to learn from failures, also. With these opportunities, it should be possible to create economically stable Indian communities, with middle-class Indian people interested in their own culture, to create a synthesis of both cultures.

An Anglo specialist in economic development policy voiced concern about the "naive faith in individual entrepreneurs" shown during the seminar, in view of the fact that most small businesses in this country failed after two years. Looking at the total situation, large-scale Indian enterprises would be more effective. Another participant pointed out that other parts of the world were experiencing analagous situations, such as Jamaica and some in Africa that had made real progress without an emphasis on private entrepreneurs. Cuba and China might also have valuable lessons to teach Indian people. In general, some participants felt, Indian people should not think that private entrepreneurs are a real solution in the face of the massive economic forces in the outside world.

Mr. Baca commented that the failure rate for businesses aided by the All Indian Development Association, which he directs, is only 2 percent, much less than for the country as a whole. On another issue, telling BIA people to "get out of the way" is not really an option, except for young, highly educated Indians. The BIA is a necessary resource. Mr. Cook answered that he is interested in the BIA allowing Indian people the opportunity to provide the services they can themselves, but that the role of the federal government as a trustee should be a given. Mr. Baca pointed out that private entrepreneurship was not the only source of economic development, but it is a missing element in providing economic stability for Indian reservations today, and it could provide role models of successful Indians and serve as a source for leadership in later Indian government enterprise development.

Mr. Allison observed that it is important to make the best-informed decisions possible, then move ahead. This is a transitional period for Indian people, one in which private enterprise and young, educated Indians, "caught between two cultures," can make a real difference. A participant remarked that while Indians at the local level are very sincere about trying to get small businesses started, they realize there are problems with the idea of individual achievement, of saving oneself. But there are also questions about the ability of small businesses to survive as people can see from the example of small farmers protesting in Washington. This needs to be evaluated as part of the question of what free enterprise is in general. A comment pointed to the problems in obtaining permits to set up small businesses in a reservation. Political problems especially, seemed to make a difference. Mr. Baca added that since the matter involved governments, it is necessary to go along with the process, but sometimes, a change of council members can mean obtaining a permit after long delays, or losing a permit issued by the previous council. A contradictory aspect of this fact of life is that it may be much easier for a non-Indian to get permission to work in a reservation than for a resident. Another participant remarked that more Indian input is needed, in the form of Indian government enterprises, meaningful regulations, and taxation.

Mr. Baca pointed out that the context for economic development should be community development. One example of this is the project undertaken by Santa Clara Pueblo to raise funds for the contruction of a health clinic to serve the people of the area. Through six years of effort and a full use of financial leverage and low-cost federal loans, the project is becoming a reality. Negotiations are now taking place with the Indian Health Service for the provision of maintenance, salaries, supplies, and equipment. At little cost to Santa Clara, social services will be improved, and indirect economic development is involved, also, since the Pueblo will gain the building as real estate.

Margaret Knight, BIA Director of the San Juan Basin Uranium Study, spoke of her development work in this country and overseas and gave the advice that Indian people should not expect the terms of economic development, such as profits, expenses, distribution of income and risks, to fit reservation circumstances. The Indian experts will have to adapt these ideas to different conditions. Businessmen in a reservation may have social risks not found in the wider economy, but, by distributing some of the profits among their relatives, they may be able to build on the asset of social solidarity, also not a factor outside the reservation. A comment was made that Indian communities are in a unique position to understand the American political-economic situation because of their different viewpoint. It is important for them to train experts in this different perspective so that they may contribute meaningfully. Many times experts are brought in to deal with "problems of the tribes" when they are really "problems of the relation of Indians with the American system."

In his final remarks, Mr. Baca mentioned that the questionnaire analysis covers correlations between occupation, salary, and Indian identity, so that perceptions brought out in the preliminary results could be clarified. The main motivation for putting the seminar together and designing the questionnaire was to raise the general level of awareness of participants by exposing them to some of the complexities of economic development. More seminars, on other aspects of total community development, will be held to continue the process of forming linkages between the academic and Indian communities, a process necessary for the promotion of development.

QUESTIONNAIRE FROM THE RESERVATION ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR

1. Check one. Are you: Indian?___If Indian, what tribe?_____.
Non-Indian____.

Please rate your agreement/disagreement according to the following scale:

SA: Strongly Agree — DS: Disagree Slightly
A: Agree — D: Disagree
AS: Agree Slightly — SD: Strongly disagree

2. The effectiveness of "experts" in my local area has been excellent in proposing useful and workable projects. SA A AS DS D SD

3. My experience in dealing with Indian reservation economic programs has been practical and useful. SA A AS DS D SD

4. My tribe is normally consulted about regional research projects in which my reservation or Pueblo is a part. SA A AS DS D SD

5. My tribe should be consulted *each* time a regional research project affects my tribe. Why? SA A AS DS D SD

6. Economic development consultants who "shop" for business" to work with tribes have the Indians' best interest in mind and deed. SA A AS DS D SD

7. I believe I have an effective voice in policy-making at the reservation/Pueblo level. SA A AS DS D SD

8. I favor federal funding for reservation economic development programs. Why? SA A AS DS D SD

9. The use of reservation economic development programs on my reservation/Pueblo are effective. SA A AS DS D SD

10. Please rate the extent of your knowledge of each of the following:

1. Exceptionally Good — 4. Below Average
2. Above Average — 5. Exceptionally bad
3. Average

a. Traditional Economy of Indian Societies 1 2 3 4 5
b. Federal Trust Obligation, i.e. environmental prot. 1 2 3 4 5
c. Effects of New Mexico Legislation on Indian economic development. 1 2 3 4 5
d. Indian economic development and the role of experts 1 2 3 4 5
e. Effects of "economic development" on Indian traditional societies. 1 2 3 4 5

11. Are there any types of economic development research projects currently being conducted in your area? (circle best answer)

Yes No In Planning Stages Don't Know

If "yes," a) Is the research being conducted by (circle one)

Indians Non-Indians Both

b) Is the research being conducted with your tribe's knowledge?

Yes No Don't Know

12. Does your tribe employ economic development consultants?

Yes No Don't Know

If "yes," what are the consultants used for? (Check all appropriate)

___Feasibility Studies
___Marketing
___Legal Work
___Loan Packaging
___Energy Resource Development
___Timber Resource Development
___Agriculture Resource Development
___Water Resource Development
___Other (please explain)

What are the main sources of funding for consultants employed by your tribe? (check all that apply)

___Federal ___State ___Private Foundations ___Tribal

(Continuation of the Questionnaire)

13. What sort of expertise would be most beneficial to your tribe in economic development?

___Feasibility Studies
___Marketing
___Legal Work
___Loan Packaging
___Energy Resource Development
___Timber Resource Development
___Agriculture Resource Development
___Water Resource Development
___Other (Please explain)

14. Please rate the overall effectiveness of the following reservation economic development organizations:

1. Exceptionally good
2. Above Average
3. Average
4. Below Average
5. Exceptionally Bad

a. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)	1	2	3	4	5
b. Small Business Administration (SBA)	1	2	3	4	5
c. Economic Development Administration (EDA)	1	2	3	4	5
d. Money-lending institutions (Banks, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
e. Tribes	1	2	3	4	5
f. Private consultant firms (AIO, CERT, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5

15. Who do you think should oversee and control reservation development?

___Federal Government
___Tribal Government
___State Government
___Big corporations
___Local communities
___Other (please explain

16. Who do you believe actually controls reservation economic development?

___Federal Government
___Tribal Government
___State Government
___Big Corporations
___Local Communities
___Other (please explain)

17. Occupation:

___Professional
___Student
___Salaried Employee
___Other

QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS: TOTAL RESPONDENTS--113

Non-Indian:	34	30% of total
Indian:	79	70% of total
Pueblo:	44	39% of total; 55% of Indians
Navajo:	27	24% of total; 34% of Indians
Other Indian	8	7% of total; 10% of Indians

(Tables 1-23 may be found on Pages 19-27 in the Report)

A total of 113 seminar participants took the questionnaire. Pueblo Indians of New Mexico constituted 55 percent of the 79 Indian respondents; Navajos 34 percent, and representatives from other Indian communities, such as Apache and Comanche, constituted 10 percent of the total Indian questionnaire group. Table 17 shows that the majority of Pueblo and Navajo respondents were salaried employees, while 50 percent of the other Indian respondents were professional workers.

Five general concerns emerged from the questionnaire: (1) Local input into planning; (2) General knowledge; (3) Effectiveness of experts and planning; (4) Control of development and planning; and (5) Development.

LOCAL INPUT

Table 3 indicates that all groups generally agreed that their experience in dealing with Indian economic programs had been practical and useful. Of Navajos responding, however, 22 percent slightly disagreed with the statement, while 14 percent of the Pueblos disagreed. Table 7 shows that there is a wide divergence of opinion about voice in policy-making at the reservation and Pueblo level. Somewhat over 50 percent of all Indian groups felt that they did not have an effective voice. In contrast, 23 percent of the Pueblos felt strongly that they did have an effective voice, while 26 percent of the Navajos and 25 percent of the other Indian respondents slightly agreed that they had an effective voice.

All three groups agreed that federal funding should be provided, as shown in Table 8. Comments on Item #8 indicated that Pueblo respondents felt that federal funding was the only source of money for economic development. Navajo respondents indicated a need for self-determination, as well as stating that the federal government was the only source of funds. Non-Indians indicated the need for seed money to provide a start or base, and a few stated that federal funds should not be used to create dependency. Typical comments were: (NI=non-Indian; P=Pueblo; N=Navajo; O=Other Indian)

"Because that is the quickest funding source to tap." P

"Because they are obligated by treaties." P

"If tribes are to remain sovereign, we must start to develop an independence of federal programs as soon as possible. On the other hand, where will funds come from if not from government?" P

"Too much federal funding creates dependency, not self-sufficiency. Perhaps economic development is not always in the best interests of the people. There is no hurry 'to catch up' with the rest of the world if it's headed in the wrong direction." P

"Self-determination ceases to exist when government (outside) standards and criteria must be met (as part of the accountability process). Time used to conform to granting procedures could be used more effectively on the reservation towards independent ventures. The government (federal) has been consistently willing to overlook Indian economic development to insure national economic welfare." O

"Indians are not yet ready, under any circumstances, for self-determination." N

"I believe we still have to become a self-determining society (in economics) before cutting federal funds. But the federal economy is shot." N

"Reparations." N

"Prefer development of self-sufficiency, self-reliance." NI

KNOWLEDGE

Question #10 (Tables 10a through 10e) was addressed to the general knowledge of the respondents. The majority of Navajo, Pueblos, and other Indians rated their knowledge of the traditional economy of Indian societies as average to above average.

Regarding federal trust obligation (such as environmental protection), the majority of responses of Indian respondents ranged from above average to below average. Of the non-Indian respondents, 21 percent rated their knowledge as exceptionally good.

A similar range of responses of all respondents (above average to below average) was indicated on knowledge on the effects of New Mexico legislation on Indian economic development.

Knowledge of Indian economic development and the role of experts was rated by the Navajo, other Indian, and non-Indian respondents as an area in which they had exceptionally good to average knowledge. Pueblo respondents tended to be somewhat more critical of their knowledge, with 14 percent rating their knowledge as exceptionally bad.

When rating the effects of economic development on Indian traditional societies, most respondents felt that their knowledge was average to above average. Ratings of the Navajo and Pueblo respondents were remarkably similar.

EFFECTIVENESS

Effectiveness of experts in the local area was judged to be less than excellent by 66 percent of the Navajo respondents (Table 2). In contrast, 55 percent of the Pueblo respondents agreed or slightly agreed that the effectiveness was excellent. Non-Indians split their responses between agreement and disagreement.

In Table 6, the majority of all groups disagreed with the statement that economic development consultants who 'shop for business' to work with tribes have the Indians' best interest in mind. However, from 24 to 13 percent of all groups slightly agreed with this statement.

Responses varied widely to the statement that the use of reservation economic development programs is effective (Table 9). Specific ratings of effectiveness (Tables 14a through 14f) were generally average to below average. Nine percent of the Pueblos rated the Bureau of Indian Affairs as exceptionally good. In contrast, 41 percent of the Navajos rated the Bureau as exceptionally bad. The majority of all respondents rated the Small Business Administration (SBA) as below average in effectiveness. The Economic Development Administration (EDA) was rated average by the majority of respondents, generally splitting the remainder of their responses as above average and below average. Money lending institutions were rated as above average in effectiveness by 50 percent of other Indian respondents. Navajo respondents rated money-lending institutions as below average or exceptionally bad. The economic effectiveness of the reservations (Indian governments) was generally rated as average or below average by all respondents. Private consultant firms were also rated as average or below average, with 33 percent of the Navajo respondents rating them as exceptionally bad.

CONTROL

When asked about whether their people were consulted about regional research projects, Indian responses were split between agreement and disagreement, as shown in Table 4. All Indian respondents agreed that their governments should be consulted about regional research projects (Table 5). Indian groups commented that Indian governments should be consulted "because it affects the tribe," and "so we can know the information and use it." Non-Indian respondents, while generally not rating the item itself, commented that Indian governments should be consulted because of treaty obligations. Typical comments included: (NI=non-Indian; P=Pueblo; N=Navajo; 0=Other Indian)

"Only right if it affects the whole tribe." NI

"The production of information is not a neutral process. This can best be seen in the goals and uses to which such information is put. May have the best intentions, yet lend to terrible consequences because the information generated was used against the people involved." NI

"Every individual tribal member should be consulted, not only members of the tribal council." P

"One of the problems with respect to published research and other materials is that the leaders (councilmen, mainly) do not read them. In spite of this problem, I feel my tribe should still be consulted. Maybe, someone may be receptive." N

As to who should control reservation economic development, all respondents felt stronly that the Indian governments should (see Table 15). To a lesser degree, all groups agreed that local communities should control development within the reservation. Actual control was believed by most respondents to rest with the federal government (Table 16). Of the Navajo respondents, 44 percent felt that control rested with the big corporations.

DEVELOPMENT

As seen in Table 12b, all Indian respondents felt that the federal government was the main source of funding for concultants. Of the Navajo respondents, 26 percent indicated that the primary source of funding is from tribal funds. In Table 12a, it can be seen that each category received some response, with Pueblos generally indicating that 'Feasibility Studies' and 'Legal Work' were the primary areas in which consultants were used. Of the Pueblo respondents, 27 percent indicated that they did not know whether their Pueblo employed economic development consultants. Navajo respondents listed 'Energy Resource Development,' 'Feasibility Studies,' 'Legal Work,' and 'Agricultural Resource Development' as primary categories. Respondents from other Indian tribes marked 'Feasibility Studies' and 'Legal Work' as the prime areas of use.

The responses to "other" areas included:
Pueblo: Impact on people and natural resources; Recreation development; Economic development; Tourism; Land and water rights.
Navajo: "Something you want to pass on;" Organizational structure; Tourism; Taxation.
Other Indians: Marine biology; Education planning.

In Table 13, the type of expertise felt to be most beneficial is given. Pueblo respondents indicated 'Water Resource Development;' 'Legal Work;' 'Feasibility Studies;' and 'Agricultural Resource Development.' Navajo respondents listed 'Energy Resource Development' and 'Water Resource Development' as the primary areas of poetential benefit. Respondents among other Indians indicated 'Feasibility Studies;' 'Legal Work' and 'Water Resource Development.'

Responses to "other" included:
Pueblo: Small Business; Human Resource Development; Equipment purchase aid; Business management; Economic development.
Navajo: Taxation; Social; Environmental; Agricultural; Appropriate technology; Education; Change federal legislation.
Other Indians: Tourism; Financial planners, management.

CROSS TABLULATIONS

Cross tabulations were calculated on all data, with the exception of that of "Other Indian" respondents (the small number-8- prevented the analysis of their data).

In the analysis of selected cross-tabulations, Table 18 shows that 14 percent of the Pueblos who felt they know the traditional economy of Indian societies exceptionally well indicated that the effectiveness of the local experts was excellent. Fourteen percent also indicated exceptionally good knowledge, but they felt that the effectiveness of experts was poor. Of the Navajo respondents,

100 percent who felt their knowledge was exceptionally bad also indicated a disagreement with the statement that expert effectiveness was excellent.

In Table 19, 100 percent of the Pueblo respondents who felt their knowledge of traditional Indian societies was exceptionally bad also indicated they strongly favored federal funding of economic development programs. The majority of all respondents who felt their knowledge was average to exceptionally good favored federal funding.

No evidence of a pattern existed when Question 7 was cross tabulated with Question 10e, as shown in Table 20. For example, of the Pueblo Indians who rated their knowledge of effect of economic development on Indian traditional societies as average, 30 percent felt they did not have an effective voice while 18 percent felt they did.

Table 21, which cross tabulates Question 10d with Question 2, shows Pueblo respondents indicated little agreemement with one another. Navajo respondents showed only little more agreement among themselves, except for those who rated their knowledge as extremely bad, and they all felt experts have done a poor job.

Much more agreement was shown in Table 22. For example, 75 percent of the Navajos who rated their knowledge of Indian economic development and the role of "experts" as above average also rated effectiveness of "experts" as above average (agreed with the statement). In contrast, 100 percent of the Navajos who rated their knowledge as exceptionally bad felt that experts were slightly below average in effectiveness.

Table 23 offers some interesting contrasts. Pueblo Indians who rated their knowledge as exceptionally good tended to rate economic development progress as above average to excellent. Navajo respondents who also felt their knowledge was exceptionally good, however, rated progress generally as slightly below average to bad. Pueblos who believed their knowledge to be exceptionally bad rated progress as average. 100 percent of the Navajos who believed their knowledge was exceptionally bad rated the economic development progress below average.

Other cross tabulation findings are of interest. Tables 18-23 should be studied for the results.

TABLES CORRESPOND WITH QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE THROUGH #17 (See Pages 13-14)

TABLE 1

Number of questionnaire respondents: 113

Indian (79)			Non-Indian
Pueblo	Navajo	Other	
44	27	8	34

TABLE 2

Percentage rating item: "The effectiveness of 'experts' in my local area has been excellent in proposing useful and workable projects."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Indian	3%	20%	25%	13%	20%	17%	2%
Pueblo	2	30	25	7	21	11	4
Navajo	0	4	30	22	22	22	0
Other	13	25	13	13	13	25	0
Non-Indian	0	15	15	15	12	3	39

TABLE 3

Percentage rating item: "My experience in dealing with Indian reservation economic programs has been practical and useful."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Indian	18%	30%	20%	10%	9%	5%	7%
Pueblo	18	34	18	2	14	5	9
Navajo	15	19	30	22	4	7	3
Other	25	15	25	13	9	0	13
Non-Indian	21	21	15	3	6	3	30

TABLE 4

Percentage rating item: "My tribe is normally consulted about regional research projects in which my reservation or Pueblo is a part."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Pueblo	2%	21%	25%	2%	23%	16%	11%
Navajo	0	22	22	19	15	19	3
Other Indian	0	50	25	0	13	0	12

TABLE 5

Percentage rating item: "My tribe should be consulted <u>each</u> time a regional research project affects my tribe."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Pueblo	71%	21%	2%	0%	0%	2%	5%
Navajo	67	19	7	0	7	0	0
Other Indian	75	25	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 6

Percentage rating item: "Economic development consultants who 'shop for business' to work with tribes have the Indians' best interest in mind and deed."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Indian	1%	6%	18%	14%	24%	33%	3%
Pueblo	2	5	18	16	23	34	2
Navajo	0	11	19	11	26	33	0
Other	0	0	13	13	25	25	24
Non-Indian	0	3	24	15	15	24	18

TABLE 7

Percentage rating item: "I believe I have an effective voice in policy-making at the reservation/Pueblo level."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Pueblo	23%	16%	7%	9%	21%	21%	4%
Navajo	8	8	26	15	33	4	7
Non-Indian	13	13	25	25	0	25	0

TABLE 8

Percentage rating item: "I favor federal funding for reservation economic development programs."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Indian	25%	34%	19%	10%	1%	5%	5%
Pueblo	21	41	21	9	0	5	5
Navajo	30	22	19	15	4	4	7
Other	38	38	13	0	0	13	0
Non-Indian	18	27	21	9	3	6	15

TABLE 9

Percentage rating item: "The use of reservation economic development programs on my reservation/Pueblo are effective."

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Responding
Pueblo	5%	23%	28%	25%	14%	2%	4%
Navajo	4	8	33	22	11	15	7
Other Indian	0	25	25	25	12.5	12.5	0

TABLE 10a

Percentage who rated their knowledge on the item: "Traditional economy of Indian societies."

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	16%	21%	48%	11%	2%	2%
Navajo	15	30	41	11	4	0
Other Indian	25	25	50	0	0	0
Non-Indian	9	27	33	12	6	12

TABLE 10b

Percentage who rated their knowledge on the item: "Federal trust obligation."

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	7%	30%	30%	21%	11%	2%
Navajo	7	19	41	30	0	3
Other Indian	13	50	25	12	0	0
Non-Indian	21	24	21	6	6	21

TABLE 10c

Percentage who rated their knowledge on the item: "The effects of New Mexico legislation on Indian economic development."

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	5%	16%	34%	36%	7%	2%
Navajo	11	19	30	33	8	0
Other Indian	0	13	50	38	0	0
Non-Indian	3	6	33	33	9	15

TABLE 10d

Percentage who rated their knowledge on the item: "Indian economic development and the role of 'experts.'"

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	14%	16%	27%	23%	14%	7%
Navajo	26	15	37	19	4	0
Other Indian	13	50	25	12	0	0
Non-Indian	15	27	33	6	3	15

TABLE 10e

Percentage who rated their knowledge on the item: "The effects of 'economic development' on Indian traditional societies."

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	11%	27%	39%	14%	5%	4%
Navajo	11	30	41	15	4	0
Other Indian	13	50	12	25	0	0
Non-Indian	12	27	27	3	9	21

TABLE 11

Percentage responding to the question: "Are there any types of economic development projects currently being conducted in your area?"

	Yes	No	In Planning Stages	Don't Know	Not Responding
Pueblo	48%	0%	34%	11%	7%
Navajo	70	11	7	11	0
Other Indian	63	0	13	25	0

TABLE 12

Percentage responding to the question: "Does your tribe employ economic development consultants?"

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Not Responding
Pueblo	61%	7%	27%	5%
Navajo	89	7	4	0
Other Indian	75	25	0	0

TABLE 12a

Of those who responded that their tribe employed economic development consultants, the percentage who indicated classifications of use are:

	Pueblo	Navajo	Other Indian
Feasibility Studies	57%	70%	63%
Marketing	27	48	13
Legal Work	50	68	50
Loan Packaging	18	41	25
Energy Resource Development	18	78	25
Timber Resource Development	7	44	38
Agriculture Resource Development	16	56	38
Water Resource Development	30	63	50

TABLE 12b

Percentage who responded to the question: "What are the main sources of funding for consultants employed by your tribe?"

	Federal	State	Private Foundations	Tribal	Not Responding
Pueblo	80%	0%	2%	2%	16%
Navajo	67	0	0	26	7
Other Indians	100	0	0	0	0

TABLE 13

Percentage who responded to the question: "What sort of expertise would be most beneficial to your tribe in economic development?"

	Pueblo	Navajo	Other Indian
Feasibility Studies	61%	59%	75%
Marketing	46	52	13
Legal Work	64	44	63
Loan Packaging	25	44	13
Energy Resource Development	36	70	50
Timber Resource Development	25	41	38
Agriculture Resource Development	57	52	50
Water Resource Development	66	63	63

TABLE 14a

Percentage who rated the effectiveness of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	9%	5%	32%	39%	9%	6%
Navajo	0	0	16	41	41	0
Other Indian	0	0	50	12	38	0
Non-Indian	0	3	15	24	24	33

TABLE 14b

Percentage who rated the reservation effectiveness of the Small Business Administration (SBA).

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	2%	5%	27%	36%	18%	11%
Navajo	0	4	30	48	19	0
Other Indian	0	0	25	63	0	12
Non-Indian	0	0	6	33	18	42

TABLE 14c

Percentage who rated the reservation effectiveness of the Economic Development Administration (EDA).

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	11%	23%	34%	21%	7%	5%
Navajo	4	11	44	26	15	0
Other Indian	0	38	38	0	0	25
Non-Indian	0	3	24	27	3	43

TABLE 14d

Percentage who rated the reservation economic effectiveness of money-lending institutions.

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	2%	5%	27%	23%	27%	16%
Navajo	0	4	7	44	44	0
Other Indian	13	50	12	12	13	12
Non-Indian	0	3	9	27	21	39

TABLE 14e

Percentage who rated the reservation economic effectiveness of tribes.

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	5%	14%	32%	32%	7%	11%
Navajo	4	4	26	37	26	4
Other Indian	13	12	50	13	12	0
Non-Indian	0	6	27	27	3	36

TABLE 14f

Percentage who rated the reservation effectiveness of private consulting firms.

	Exceptionally Good	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Exceptionally Bad	Not Responding
Pueblo	2%	5%	36%	34%	5%	18%
Navajo	0	11	19	33	33	4
Other Indian	0	13	38	25	13	12
Non-Indian	0	0	24	27	3	46

TABLE 15

Percentage who responded to the question: "Who do you think should oversee and control reservation economic development?" (Multi-responses possible).

	Pueblo	Navajo	Other Indian	Non-Indian
Federal Government	11%	4%	0%	6%
Tribal Government	91	74	88	77
State Government	0	4	0	3
Big Corporations	0	4	0	3
Local Communities	18	52	38	24

TABLE 16

Percentage who responded to the question: "Who do you believe actually controls reservation economic development at this point?" (Multi-responses).

	Pueblo	Navajo	Other Indian	Non-Indian
Federal Government	66%	67%	50%	61%
Tribal Government	30	22	38	33
State Government	14	7	13	3
Big Corporations	21	44	38	46
Local Communities	7	4	0	3

TABLE 17

Occupation of participants, by percentage.

	Professional	Student	Salaried Employees	Other
Pueblo	27%	9%	48%	15%
Navajo	33	11	41	15
Other Indian	50	13	37	0
Non-Indian	55	0	27	18

CROSS TABULATIONS: Symbols in Tables 18-23:

SA=Strongly Agree
A =Agree
AS=Agree Slightly
DS=Disagree Slightly
D =Disagree
SD=Strongly Disagree

EG=Exceptionally Good
AA=Above Average
A =Average
BA=Below Average
EB=Exceptionally Bad

NI=Non-Indian
N =Navajo
P =Pueblo

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TABLE 18

Cross tabulation of Question 2 with Question 10a. Responses in percentages.

The effectiveness of "experts in my local area has been excellent in proposing useful and workable projects."

Knowledge of Traditional Indian Societies		SA	A	AS	DS	D	SD
EG	NI	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	N	0	0	25	25	0	50
	P	14	43	29	0	14	0
AA	NI	0	17	33	33	17	0
	N	0	0	25	25	13	38
	P	0	33	22	0	44	0
A	NI	0	30	20	30	20	0
	N	0	9	27	27	27	9
	P	0	25	25	15	15	20
BA	NI	0	33	33	0	33	0
	N	0	0	67	0	33	0
	P	0	40	40	0	20	0
EB	NI	0	0	0	0	0	0
	N	0	0	0	0	100	0
	P	0	0	0	0	0	100

TABLE 19

Cross tabulation of Question 8 with Question 10a. Responses in percentages.

In favor of federal funding of economic development programs.

Knowledge of Traditional Indian Societies		SA	A	AS	DS	D	SD
EG	NI	33%	0%	67%	0%	0%	0%
	N	50	25	25	0	0	0
	P	29	57	14	0	0	0
AA	NI	44	22	0	11	11	11
	N	43	29	0	29	0	0
	P	25	38	13	13	0	12
A	NI	9	36	36	18	0	0
	N	30	30	20	20	0	0
	P	19	43	24	14	0	0
BA	NI	0	50	25	0	0	25
	N	0	0	33	0	33	33
	P	0	40	40	0	0	20
EB	NI	0	0	0	0	0	0
	N	0	0	0	100	0	0
	P	0	100	0	0	0	0

TABLE 20

Cross tabulation of Question 7 with Question 10e. Responses in percentages.

I believe I have an effective voice in policy making at the reservation/Pueblo level.

Knowledge of effect of economic development on Indian traditional societies		SA	A	AS	DS	D	SD
		NI 0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	EG	N 33	33	0	0	33	0
		P 20	40	0	0	0	40
		NI 0	33	0	33	33	0
	AA	N 0	0	38	37	25	0
		P 42	8	0	8	25	17
		NI 0	25	50	25	0	0
	A	N 0	9	36	0	46	9
		P 18	17	18	6	30	12
		NI 0	0	0	100	0	0
	BA	N 33	0	0	33	33	0
		P 20	0	0	20	20	40
		NI 0	0	0	0	0	0
	EB	N 0	0	0	0	0	0
		P 0	50	0	0	0	50

TABLE 21

Cross tabulation of Question 10d with Question 2. Responses in percentages.

The effectiveness of "experts" in my local area has been excellent in proposing useful and workable projects.

Knowledge of Indian economic development and the role of "experts"		SA	A	AS	DS	D	SD
		NI 0%	33%	0%	33%	0%	33%
	EG	N 0	0	14	14	29	43
		P 17	33	0	0	33	17
		NI 0	28	14	29	28	0
	AA	N 0	0	25	25	25	25
		P 0	29	28	14	14	14
		NI 0	13	50	12	25	0
	A	N 0	0	40	40	10	10
		P 0	36	36	0	18	9
		NI 0	50	0	50	0	0
	BA	N 0	20	40	0	40	0
		P 0	20	30	10	30	10
		NI 0	0	0	0	0	0
	EB	N 0	0	0	0	0	100
		P 0	17	33	16	16	17

TABLE 22

Cross tabulation of Question 10d with Question 3. Responses in percentages.

My experience in dealing with Indian reservation economic programs has been practical and useful.

Knowledge of Indian economic development and the role of "experts"		SA	A	AS	DS	D	SD
		NI 50%	25%	0%	0%	25%	0%
	EG	N 29	14	28	14	14	0
		P 40	60	0	0	0	0
		NI 29	0	28	14	28	0
	AA	N 0	75	0	25	0	0
		P 33	17	33	0	16	0
		NI 25	50	25	0	0	0
	A	N 20	10	40	20	0	10
		P 17	67	0	8	8	0
		NI 0	100	0	0	0	0
	BA	N 0	0	50	25	0	25
		P 22	22	33	0	0	22
		NI 0	0	0	0	0	0
	EB	N 0	0	0	100	0	0
		P 0	0	50	0	50	0

TABLE 23

Cross tabulation of Question 10d with Question 9. Responses in percentages.

The use of reservation economic development programs on my reservation/Pueblo are effective.

Knowledge of Indian economic development and the role of "experts"		SA	A	AS	DS	D	SD
	EG	N 0%	0%	14%	29%	14%	43%
		P 33	50	0	17	0	0
	AA	N 0	0	33	67	0	0
		P 0	0	29	43	28	0
	A	N 0	22	57	22	0	0
		P 0	33	25	25	17	0
	BA	N 20	0	40	0	20	20
		P 0	11	22	33	22	11
	EB	N 0	0	0	0	100	0
		P 0	0	83	17	0	0